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Central Asian Pilgrims

**Hajj Routes and Pious Visits
between Central Asia and the Hijaz**



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Pilgrims on train for Mecca (ca. 1900-1920)

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Hajj from the Sufi Point of View

Necdet Tosun

Sufis have long used the medium of poems and learned speeches to express the view that hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is not only an obligation to God, and that it should above all be performed out of love for Allah. There are deeper meanings inherent in the hajj rituals for Sufis. They emphasize the importance of understanding the symbolic meaning of the rituals associated with hajj, and hold that the performance of pilgrimage should deliver a person to moral and spiritual maturity. Although most pilgrims have transformative experiences, as Victor Turner has documented in his study of the liminality of *communitas*,¹ many Sufis at "God's House" have the ultimate transformative experience, the experience of God. Within Sufi circles, however, there has long been a multitude of views towards pilgrimage. Some Sufis narrated anecdotes implying that appeasing the needs of the poor is more important than going on hajj. Others debated whether the Ka'ba or the human being has a higher ontological state, and others wrote at length about the importance of hajj as an opportunity for divine inspiration. In this paper, I shall examine a few of these views.

Hajj According to Sufis

Sufis consider that worship consists not just of performing prayer, fasting, giving alms and going on hajj, but also of achieving spiritual advancement and moral maturity. The goal of a Sufi is not unconscious worship, but mystical knowledge of Allah (*'irfân*). An Anatolian Sufi, Niyâzî Mîsrî (d. 1694) states this view in one of his poems as follows:

*Savm u salât u hac ile
Sanma biter zâhid için
İnsan-ı kâmil olmaya
Lâzım olan irfân imiş*

With fasting, prayer and pilgrimage
Don't think, O ascetic, your duty ends
To become a perfect human man
Only *'irfân* is needed

1 Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Transaction, 1995).

— *To have a place in someone's heart (To win someone's heart)*

Sufis insist that people's performance of hajj and other rituals should not be at the expense of their societal duties. They regard as un-meritorious the individual who performs pilgrimage having abandoned his poor neighbours or elderly parents at home. The most significant creation in the universe is the human being; the duty to help other people is thus a crucial one. This view is widely expressed in Sufi literature. An illustrative anecdote is as follows:

After performing his hajj, 'Abd Allâh b. Mubâarak (d. 797) had a dream in Mecca. In his dream, two angels descended from the heaven, and one of them told the other: "This year six hundred thousand people had performed hajj. Their collective hajj was no more meritorious than the actions of 'Alî b. Muwaffaq, who was a shoemaker in Damascus. 'Alî intended to go to hajj, but was unable to. The hajj of all these other pilgrims has been accepted for the sake of his one deed." When 'Abd Allâh b. Mubâarak woke up, he was amazed and wondered the meaning of his dream. He went to Damascus by caravan. He found ['Alî b. Muwaffaq], and asked: "What did you do instead of going to hajj?" 'Alî b. Muwaffaq explained: "I have been yearning to go to hajj for 30 years. I have saved 300 dirhams from repairing shoes. I intended to go to hajj. My pregnant wife told me that meat smell was coming from the neighbour, and she asked me if I could go and ask some meat from the neighbour. I went to my neighbour, and explained the situation. My neighbour started to cry, and he (or she) said: "My children have hungry for the last seven days. I have found a carcass on my way, and cut a piece of it. Now I am cooking that piece and trying to comfort my children. If I cannot find some permissible (*halâl*) food, I will be compelled feed them with this. If you want, I could give it to you: but while this meat is permissible for my children, for they face death by hunger, it is forbidden to you." "When I heard this", said 'Alî b. Muwaffaq, "I felt so sad that I gave all the money to him. And I prayed to my Lord: "O my Lord! Please accept my hajj intention." Thereupon 'Abd Allâh b. Mubâarak said "My Lord informed me the truth in my dream."²

Another anecdote about how helping people and winning their hearts is more rewarding than the voluntary hajj³ is as follows: A man from Fergana used to go on voluntary hajj every year. When he was passing by Nishapur, he entered the presence of Abû 'Uthmân Hîrî (d. 910) and greeted him. However Hîrî failed to respond to his greetings. While the man was wondering why he did not respond to his greetings, and what a strange situation this was, Abû 'Uthmân Hîrî started to talk: "How can such a hajj be performed? Mother is sick and left alone at home, and

2 Farîd al-Dîn 'Attâr, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ*, ed. Muhammad Isti'lâmî (Tehran: Intishârât-i Zuvvâr, 1995), pp. 214-215.

3 For Muslims who can afford to go to hajj, only one such pilgrimage is required in a lifetime: any subsequent such performance is voluntary and superogatory.

the hajj journey has started without her consent.” The man said: “I recognised my mistake, and I regretfully turned back to my mother. I served my mother until she passed away. After her death, I set off to perform hajj. On my way, I visited Abû ‘Uthmân Hirî again. This time he joyfully and respectfully welcomed me. Then I joined among his pupils.”⁴

An Anatolian Sufi, Yunus Emre (d. 1320) expresses a similar view in his poetry:

Ak sakallu pîr hoca
Bilemez hâli nice
Emek yimesün hacca
*Bir gönül yıkar ise*⁵

The white bearded sage
Who does not know what his state is
Should not exert much for hajj
If he breaks a heart

Yûnus Emre der hoca
Gerekse var bin hacca
Hepisinden eyice
*Bir gönüle girmektir!*⁶

Yunus Emre says O sage
If you perform thousand hajjs
Better than all of them
Is to win a heart (To go into a heart)

According to Yunus Emre and other Sufis who take a similar view, to have a place in someone’s heart, in other words to help someone and gain his heart and make him happy, is more valuable than a thousand unconscious performances of hajj.

— *Circumambulation of the soul’s Ka’ba*

Even though the Ka’ba is symbolically called the house of Allah, the Islamic faith holds that Allah does not occupy physical space, and that no enclosure can contain Him. According to Sufi teachings, God looks fondly upon the human heart, and it is only through their hearts that human beings can know Allah. For that reason, the expression that “*I do not fit in to the world and heaven, but I fit into the heart of my believing servant*”⁷ has been frequently repeated in Sufi literature. This saying

4 ‘Abd al-Karîm Qushayrî, *Al-Risâla al-Qushayriyya*, ed. Ma’rûf Zarrîq and ‘Alî ‘Abd al-Hamîd Baltajî (Beirut: Dâr al-Jayl, 1990), p. 240.

5 Yunus Emre, *Yûnus Emre Dîvânı*, ed. Mustafa Tatçı (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997), vol. II, p. 386.

6 Yunus Emre, *Yûnus Emre Dîvânı*, vol. II, p. 148.

7 The tradition of “*Worlds and Heavens could not contain me in, but my servant’s believ-*

means “none of the creation can truly know and comprehend me, but only *Insân al-Kâmil* or a Perfect Human can grasp me by his heart or high perception capability.” Starting from this notion, Sufis ascribed special importance to the human being, and to the human heart or soul.

‘Abd al-Rahmân Jâmî (d. 1492) says in this regard:

*Ka’ba bunyâd-i Khalîl-i Âzar ast
Dil nazargâh-i Jalîl-i Akbar ast*

Ka’ba is the building of Ibrâhîm son of Âzar
Heart is, on the other hand, where Allah Almighty’s place of sight

An Anatolian Sufi says:

*Ararsan Mevlâ’yı kalbinde ara
Kudüs’te, Mekke’de, hacda değildir*

If you look for the God, look for Him in your heart
Not in Jerusalem, in Mecca, nor at hajj

In one of his odes, Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (d. 1273) says: “*O Pilgrims! Where are you? Where are you? Your lover is here, come here, come here!*”⁸ This is because, according to Sufis, the heart of the person who knows Allah (‘*ârif*) is the house of Allah, or Ka’ba. For this reason, visiting *Insân al-Kâmil* is as important a duty as going to hajj. The couplet by Mawlânâ’s son Sultân Walad, which hangs on the wall of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn’s tomb, expresses the same idea:

*Yak tawâf-i marqad-i Sultân-i Mawlânâ-yi Mâ
Haft hazâr u haft sad u haftâd hajj-i akbar ast*

Visiting Our Sultan Mawlana’s tomb just once
Is similar to performing *hajj-i akbar* 7,770 times

According to a Sufi anecdote mentioned in Shams al-Tabrîzî’s *Maqâlât*, Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî’s *Mathnawî* and several other Sufi books, Bâyezîd Bistâmî (d. 848) was on his way to perform hajj. He stopped by an old Sufi saint in Basra. Sufi asked him: “O Bâyezîd, where are you going?” Bâyezîd replied: “To Mecca. To visit the house of Allah”. The Sufi asked: “How much money do you have for the trip?” “200 dirhams”, Bâyezîd replied. The Sufi said: “Stand up, and circle around me seven times and give me the money.” Bâyezîd immediately stood up, and left his purse in front of the Sufi. The Sufi continued: “The place you were headed is the house of

ing, pure, and sinless heart covered and contained me” is considered a Holy tradition (Hadith Qudsi) by the Sufis.

8 For details, see Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, *Dîwân-i Kabîr*, ed. B. Furûzânfar (Tehran: Mu’assasa-yi Intishârât-i Amîr-i Kabîr, 2005), p. 274 (ode no. 648).

Allah, but my heart is also the house of Allah. God Almighty owns both that house and this house. After He built that house (the Ka'ba), He never dwelled there. However after He built this house (=my heart), (by his love and sight) He never left it."⁹

— *Is the Ka'ba or the human being superior?*

The saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad: "*The believer has higher rank than the Ka'ba*"¹⁰ illustrates how the above question has long in a matter of concern for Muslims. When considered not as a mere object but as an embodiment of reality and truth, however, the Ka'ba might be conceptualised somewhat differently. In the early seventeenth century, for instance, the Indian Sufi Ahmad Sirhindî, otherwise known as Imâm-i Rabbânî (d. 1624), expressed the view that "*the Truth of the Ka'ba is superior to the truth of Muhammad*".¹¹ This opinion, however, was later much contested. Ahmad Qushâshî (d. 1661) directly criticised Ahmad Sirhindî, writing a book where he argued that believers were superior to the Ka'ba.¹² Muhammad Amîn Badakhshî subsequently responded with a work in Persian titled *Al-Mufâwaza* (or *Al-Mufâzala*) *bayn al-insân wa al-Ka'ba*, in which he defended the views of Ahmad Sirhindî against Qushâshî.¹³ Muhammad Sa'îd Sirhindî (d. 1660), son of Ahmad Sirhindî, wrote a letter seeking to establish the superiority of the truth of the Ka'ba over the truth of Muhammad.¹⁴ It is also reported that Muhammad Yahyâ (d. 1684), another son of Ahmad Sirhindî, wrote a comprehensive book as a response to the criticisms.¹⁵

9 Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, *Mathnawî*, ed. Tawfiq H. Subhânî (Tehran: Intishârât-i Ravzana, 1991), pp. 241-243 (vol. II, verse no. 2218-2251).

10 Ibn Mâjah, *Fitan*, 2.

11 See Ahmad Sirhindî, *Mabda' wa Ma'âd* (Karachi: Idâra-yi Mujaddidiyya, 1968), p. 72; idem, *Maktûbât* (Karachi: Idâra-yi Mujaddidiyya, 1972), vol. III, pp. 586-588 (no. 124).

12 This Arabic work can perhaps be identified as *Asrâr al-manâsik*: see Sikandarpûrî, *Anwâr-i Ahmadiyya* (Delhi: 1891), p. 87). 'Abd Allâh Khîshaghî Qusûrî (d. 1695) quoted all of this book in his *Ma'ârij al-Walâyat*. See 'Abd Allâh Khîshaghî Qusûrî, *Ma'ârij al-Walâyat fî Madârij al-Hidâyat*, Persian MS (Lahore: Punjab University Library, Âzar, no. H-25/ 7765), ff. 606a-646a.

13 For the manuscript form of the work, see Ahmad Munzawî, *Fihrist-i mushtarak-i nuskhahâ-yi khattî-yi fârsî-yi Pâkistân* (Islamabad: Markaz-i Tahqîqât-i Fârsî-yi Îrân wa Pâkistân, 1984), vol. III, 1959-1960. For the author Badakhshî, see Muhammad Iqbâl Mujaddidî, "Badakhshî, Muhammad Amîn," in *Dânishnâma-i Jahân-i Islâm* (Tehran: Bunyâd-i Dâirat al-Ma'ârif-i Islâmî, 1996), B-II, pp. 476-7; Ghulâm 'Alî Âryâ, "Badakhshî, Muhammad Amîn," in *Dâirat al-Ma'ârif-i Buzurg-i Islâmî* (Tehran: Markaz-i Dâirat al-Ma'ârif-i Buzurg-i Islâmî, 2002), vol. XI, p. 525.

14 Muhammad Sa'îd Sirhindî, *Maktûbât-i Sa'îdiyya* (Lahore: Maktaba-i Hakîm Sayfî, 1965), pp. 127-129 (no. 68).

15 'Abd Allâh Dihlawî, *Maqâmât-i Mazhariyya* (Istanbul: Hakikat Kitabevi, 1993), p. 128; Munzawî, *Fihrist*, III, p. 1969.

Muhammad b. Fadl (d. 329/940), one of the early-period Sufis, said: "If it is required to visit a stone upon which Allah looks only once a year, then visiting the heart, upon which Allah looks 360 times a day, is a worthier obligation."¹⁶

Ismâ'il Haqqî Bursawî (d. 1137/1725) states that "there are two groups of pilgrims in the world: One visits the house (i.e. the Ka'ba). This group should go to the house. The other group visits the Lord of the house (That is to say they visit Allah). For this group, the Ka'ba comes to them. Because, even though the house is *mazhar al-kamâl*, or the place where perfection is observed, it is not like *Insân al-Kâmil*. Because *Insân al-Kâmil*'s dignity is in the heart, and the heart is *Bayt Allâh* (House of Allah); as for the Ka'ba, meanwhile, it is *Bayt al-Khalq* (a house built by humans).¹⁷

The Spiritual Meaning of Hajj in Sufism

A Turkish proverb runs as follows: "A camel will not be a pilgrim just by going to Mecca; a donkey will not be a dervish just by carrying water to the dervish lodge." Since any camel travelling to Mecca does so unconsciously, it cannot be regarded as a pilgrim; nor, the proverb suggests, can people be regarded as pilgrims who perform their hajj in unthinking imitation of others, and who are not aware of the hajj's spiritual symbolism.

In the section of his book *Al-Luma'* entitled "Sufis' manners of hajj", the author Abû Nasr al-Sarrâj al-Tûsî (d. 988) discusses the spiritual and mystical meaning of the hajj as follows: While a pilgrim is taking off his daily clothes at the place of *mîqât*, where he puts on *ihram* or pilgrimage clothes, he should also take hate and envy out of his heart. When he prays saying "*Labbayk*" (I submit to your order), he determines not to follow the Satan and the self (ego). After he greets and kisses the *hajar al-aswad*, or the black stone, he imagines that he is giving a promise of servitude to Allah. When he comes to hill of Safâ, he decides not to let anything impure into his heart. When he rushes between the Safâ and Marwa hills (*harwala*), he thinks he is running from the self and Satan. When he comes to the hill of 'Arafât, he thinks about the day of resurrection, and the day he will meet Allah. While he is cutting his hair, he should also cut his pride and desires for praise. And while he is slaughtering an offering, he should also slaughter his self (i.e. annihilate evil habits of the self).¹⁸

16 'Alî b. 'Uthmân Hujwîrî, *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, ed. Mahmûd 'Âbidî (Tehran: Intishârât-i Sadâ wa Sîmâ, 2005), p. 480.

17 İsmâil Hakkı Bursevî, *Kitâbü'n-Netîce*, ed. Ali Namlı and İmdat Yavaş (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1997), vol. I, p. 379.

18 Al-Sarrâj Al-Tûsî, *Al-Luma' fî al-Tasawwuf*, ed. 'Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd and Tâhâ 'Abd al-Bâqî Surûr (Cairo: Dâr al-Kutub al-Hadîtha, 1960), pp. 227-229. The text has been translated into English by R.A. Nicholson and into German by R. Gramlich.

According to Imâm Muhammad Ghazâlî (d. 1111), when a person prepares provisions for his trip, he should also think about piety, which is the most valuable provision in the afterlife. Similarly, when the pilgrim embarks on his journey, he should think about the coffin in which he will be placed when he dies; when he dons the two pieces of white *ihram* clothes, he should think about his grave clothes; after putting on *ihram*, when he says *Labbayk* (I submit to your order), he should think about his submission to Allah's order to come to that certain place; when he sees the Ka'ba, he should show respect as if he sees Allah; when he circumambulates the Ka'ba, he should think about the angels circling around the Heavens and showing their respect to Allah in that way; when he greets the *hajar al-aswad* and touches it, he should imagine that he is shaking hands with Allah, and promising Allah not to break His orders; when he is running between the hills of Safâ and Marwa near the Ka'ba, he should have two thoughts in his mind, first, to feel himself like the person who presented his petition to the sultan and started to wait excitedly outside the palace without knowing if his requests will be accepted or not, and, secondly, to think about the two sides of the scale which will weigh his good and evil deeds on the day of judgment, perhaps regarding the hill of Safâ as the good deeds side and the hill of Marwa as the evil deeds side, and then should run between the hills checking which side will get heavier; and when he stands on the hill of 'Arafât, he should think about the day when everybody will gather and wait for the Prophet's intercession.¹⁹

Ismâ'îl Anqarawî (d. 1631) divides hajj into two: *sûrî*, or manifest, and *ma'nawî*, or spiritual. He states that it is the spiritual hajj to which Sufis should aspire.²⁰ Similarly, when discussing the Ka'ba Bâbâ Ni'mat Allâh Nakhjiwânî (d. 1514) distinguishes between the *sûrî* (the apparent Ka'ba) and the *haqîqî* (the real Ka'ba).²¹ Nakhjiwânî also compares *ihram* with the grave clothes: "Just as a person already wearing his grave clothes can not commit sins", he writes, "so should a pilgrim wearing *ihram* willingly and intentionally stay away from the prohibitions".²² According to Nakhjiwânî, the goal of the real hajj is to reach the true Ka'ba, which is to say the essence of Allah.²³ Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî says: "*Hajj* is visiting a house, or the Ka'ba. Visiting the owner of the house is the true manliness. That kind of visit does not fall to every servant's privilege."²⁴

This matter is very well summarised by the following mystical verse:

19 Imâm Muhammad Ghazâlî, *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn* (Beirut: Dâr al-Khayr, 1990), vol. I, pp. 352-359.

20 Ismâ'îl Anqarawî, *Minhâj al-Fuqarâ'* (Istanbul: 1840), pp. 112-113.

21 Nakhjiwânî, *Al-Favâtiḥ al-Ilâhiyya*, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Osmâniya, 1907), vol. I, p. 58.

22 Nakhjiwânî, *Al-Favâtiḥ*, vol. I, p. 67.

23 Quran 18:10; Nakhjiwânî, *Al-Favâtiḥ*, vol. I, p. 119.

24 Rûmî, *Mathnawî*, vol. IV, verse no. 15.

O my love! My hajjs and 'umras are all for You
Although others' hajjs are to earth and the stones.²⁵

Bâyazîd Bistâmî says: "On my first hajj, I saw nothing but the house (Ka'ba). On my second hajj, I saw both the house and the Owner of the house. However, on my third hajj, I saw everything as the Owner of the house (Lord of the Ka'ba)."²⁶

According to one narrative, Junayd Baghdâdî (d. 910) saw a friend returning from hajj. They had the following conversation. Junayd asked:

- Did you intend for hajj and put on *ihram*?
- Yes, I did.
- Did you thus break all the pledges which run contrary to your eternal pledge (your promise given to Allah)?
- No, I did not.
- Then you did not give your pledge. Did you strip off your clothes?
- Yes, I did.
- And did you strip off all human attributes, just as you stripped off your clothes?
- No, I did not.
- Then you did not really put on *ihram*. After that did you take a shower and clean yourself?
- Yes, I did.
- By means of that shower, did your illnesses (spiritual illnesses like immorality) get better?
- No, they did not.
- Then you did not clean yourself. Did you say the *talbiya* (did you pray saying *Labbayk*)?
- Yes, I did.
- Did you get a response to your *talbiya*?
- No, I did not.
- Then you did not truly say the *talbiya*. Did you enter the Haram al-Sharîf?
- Yes, I did.
- When you enter the Haram al-Sharîf, did you give up prohibitions?
- No, I did not.
- Then you did not enter the Haram al-Sharîf. Did you see Mecca?
- Yes, I did.
- When you saw Mecca, did a spiritual state come down to you from Allah?

25 "Ilâyka yâ munyatî hajjî wa mu'tamarî / In hajja qawmun ilâ turâbin wa ahjârî". See Ahmad Sihrindî, *Maktûbât*, vol. I, p. 54 (no.22).

26 Hujwîrî, *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, p. 481.

-No, it did not.

-Then it did not happen either...²⁷

Continuing thus for some while, this question-and-answer episode elegantly expresses the views held by Sufis such as Shaykh Shiblî regarding the spiritual meaning of hajj.

The Ottoman scholar and Sufi Yûnus Wahbî Efendî (d. 1913) states in his *As-râr-i Manâsik-i Hajj-i Sharîf* that “the goal of hajj is not just the circumambulation of the body around the Ka’ba; it is also the heart’s visit to the Lord of the house (Ka’ba), and its circumambulation around Him.”²⁸ He later continues: “Stoning *Jamras* (Satans) represents dismissal of the misgivings from the heart, and removal of the evil voices and unnecessary worldly thoughts of the inner world.”²⁹

Sufi Spiritual Experiences during the Hajj

Certain Sufis evidently experienced deep spiritual feelings, ecstasy, and divine inspirations during the performance of hajj. Such spiritual experiences are well described in a number of works.

One such work is the *Futûhât al-Makkiyya*, or “Inspirations of Mecca”, by Ibn ‘Arabî (d. 1240). Ibn ‘Arabî relates that a young man calling himself “the reality of the Ka’ba” came down to him from the direction of *hajar al-aswad*, and asked Ibn ‘Arabî to read to him, saying “Whatever you see in me, write it down into your work, and teach it to the talented.” Ibn ‘Arabî says that this young man opened up to him the realm of hidden knowledge, that it was thus that he himself wrote the second volume of the *Futûhât*. Elsewhere in the work, Ibn ‘Arabî relates how the young man being mystically communicated truth to him. When Ibn ‘Arabî asked his interlocutor to show him some of his mysteries, the being told him to circumambulate the Ka’ba following his foot prints. The two of them circumambulated together seven times, whereupon the boy told him that the building in front of them (the Ka’ba) was the embodiment of his essence, and that the seven circumambulations constituted his seven essential attributes; during each circumambulation, the boy read out one part of the *Futûhât*.³⁰

27 Hujwîrî, *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, pp. 481-483; Muhammad Pârsâ, *Fasl al-Khitâb*, ed. J. Misgarnijâd (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dânishgâhî, 2002), pp. 223-224.

28 Yûnus Wahbî Efendî’s this work is originally written in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish and published twice in 1911 and in 1913. It is also translated into Modern Turkish and published by Veysel Akkaya. See Veysel Akkaya, *Sufî Gözüyle Hac ve Umre* (Istanbul: Erkam Yayınları), 2006, p. 127.

29 V. Akkaya, *Sufî Gözüyle Hac*, p. 146.

30 Ibn al-‘Arabî, *Al-Futûhât al-Makkiyya*, ed. Osman Yahya (Cairo: Al-Hay’at al-Misriyyat al-‘Âmma li’l-Kitâb, 1972), vol. I, pp. 47-51; Mahmut Erol Kılıç, “El-Fütûhâtü’l-Mekkiyye,” *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, XIII, p. 251.

Muhammad Ma'sûm (d. 1668), son of Ahmad Sirhindî, similarly describes the divine inspirations and revelations which he experienced during the hajj in Hijâz. His accounts were compiled by his son Muhammad 'Ubaydullâh under the title of *Hasanât al-Haramayn*,³¹ and were translated into Ottoman Turkish by Ottoman Sufi Mustaqîmzâda Sulaymân Sa'd al-Dîn (d. 1787). According to one of his narratives, while Muhammad Ma'sûm was circumambulating the Ka'ba, he repeatedly felt that the Ka'ba was hugging him. During one of the circumambulations, he spiritually saw that lights came out of his body and covered the whole world.³² He saw several angels at the place called Rukn al-Yamânî after the night prayer.³³ One morning while he was performing recollection of Allah (*dhikr*), he saw that a spiritual cloak was presented to him, and he realised that this cloak was the cloak of servitude (*khil'at al-'ubûdiyya*).³⁴

Other such stories proliferate. The divine inspirations and revelations of Muhammad Sa'id, another son of Ahmad Sirhindî, were compiled by 'Abd al-Ahad Wahdat Sirhindî under the title of *Latâ'if al-Madîna*;³⁵ Shâh Wâlî Allâh Dihlawî (d. 1762) wrote down his own inspirations and revelations in his work *Fuyûd al-Haramayn*.³⁶ Similarly, the Ottoman Sufi Ismâ'il Haqqî Bursawî wrote of the inspirations and revelations (*wâridât*) which he experienced in the Haramayn in 1700. Bursawî's first account of these experiences, in a work entitled the *Asrâr al-Hajj*, was lost to bandits on the journey back to Bursa.³⁷ He subsequently redrafted his hajj account in a number of later compositions, notably the *Wâridât-i Haqqiyya*. In this latter work, Bursawî recounts how one night he was informed by Allah that prophet Elias was in the same line in the prayer, but he did not see him personally.³⁸ Another night, while he was circumambulating the Ka'ba, he was instructed to "Greet the four Caliphs; they are present here right now", whereupon he greeted them verbally and spiritually, though he did not see them in person.³⁹ During his visit to the Ka'ba, he saw a variety of other elevated spirits throughout the day and

31 Muhammad 'Ubaydullâh, *Hasanât al-Haramayn*, ed. and Urdu trans. Muhammad Iqbâl Mujaddidî (Lahore: Himâyat-i Islâm Press, 1981). This book is also known as *Yawâqût al-Haramayn* and *Risâlat al-Yâqûtiyya*.

32 Muhammad 'Ubaydullâh, *Hasanât al-Haramayn*, Ottoman Turkish trans. Mustaqîmzâdah, MS Ottoman (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Haji Mahmud Efendi section, no. 2848), f. 6b.

33 Muhammad 'Ubaydullâh, *Hasanât*, f. 9b.

34 Muhammad 'Ubaydullâh, *Hasanât*, f. 10a.

35 'Abd al-Ahad Wahdat Sirhindî, *Latâ'if al-Madîna*, ed. M. Iqbâl Mujaddidî (Lahore: Hawza-yi Naqshbandiyya, 2004).

36 Shâh Wâlî Allâh Dihlawî, *Fuyûd al-Haramayn*, ed. Sayyid Zahîruddîn (Delhi: Al-Matba al-Ahmadî, 1890). Arabic text and Urdu translation were published together.

37 Bursawî, *Wâridât-i Haqqiyya (Wâridât al-Kubrâ)* (Bursa: Bursa Eski Yazma ve Basma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Genel, no. 86), ff. 123a, 175a, 201b.

38 Bursawî, *Wâridât*, f. 210a.

39 *Wâridât*, ff. 210a.

night; he even saw his deceased son Ishâq praying in the lines of performers in Mecca and Medina,⁴⁰ and his other deceased son ‘Ubaydullâh – with his eyes kohl-applied and bedecked in jewelry – sitting near *Hatîm*.⁴¹

In Sufi literature, it is reported that some Sufis were miraculously able to travel very long distances in very short times. This is called *tayy-i makân*, or to fold up and shorten the distance. Accounts of such mystical experiences are to be found in anecdotes attributed to Muhammad Khwârizmî (d. 1378),⁴² who lived in Central Asia, and the Bursa shoemaker Mehmet Dede (d. 1619).⁴³

Conclusion

Because the books of Islamic law tend to concern themselves only with the rites and regulations of hajj, pilgrimage can sometimes appear to the observer simply like an elevated form of tourism; we often look in vain for the spiritual dimensions of hajj. Sufis, by contrast, often spoke about the spiritual side of hajj, and tried to highlight the symbolic meaning of pilgrimage rituals in order to fill the gap left by Islamic law books. They composed mystical anecdotes to remind the faithful that he who leaves for the hajj should not thus abandon the needy. Regarding human intellection as the gift whereby man can come to know Allah, they argued that the heart of the wise man is of higher rank than the Ka‘ba itself. And some of them set down in writing those divine inspirations and revelations which they experienced during the course of the pilgrimage.

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40 *Wâridât*, ff. 210a, 226b.

41 *Wâridât*, f. 226b.

42 Mahmûd Cemâleddin Hulvî, *Lemezât-ı Hulviyye*, ed. M. Serhan Tayşi (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı, 1993), pp. 336-337.

43 İsmâ‘îl Balîgh, *Guldasta-i Riyâd-i ‘Irfân* (Bursa: 1885), p. 223.

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